

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 288750  
ORIGIN NODS-00

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 288750

NODIS

CHEROKEE FOR DR BRZEZINSKI ONLY

FOLLOWING REPEAT USNATO 12114 ACTION SECSTAE INFO BELGRADE  
MADRID ALL NATO CAPITALS DATED DEC 02:

QTE: C O N F I D E N T I A L USNATO 12114

NODIS CHEROKEE

BELGRADE FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: NATO, CSCE

SUBJECT: DECEMBER NAC MINISTERIAL: CSCE REPORTS

REFS: (A) STATE 287616, (B) NATO 12003, (C) NATO 11444

(ALL NOTAL)

1. AT ITS DECEMBER 2 MEETING, THE COUNCIL APPROVED  
WITHOUT CHANGE REPORTS FOR MINISTERS ON THE BELGRADE  
MEETING (REF B) AND CSCE IMPLEMENTATION (REF C).  
COMMENTING ON PARA 8 OF THE REPORT ON BELGRADE, VIBE  
(NORWAY), KILLICK (UK), AND SVART (DENMARK) QUESTIONED  
THE STATEMENT THAT "THERE HAVE BEEN SOME ATTEMPTS BY  
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EASTERN COUNTRIES TO DIFFERENTIATE THEMSELVES TO VARYING  
SMALL DEGREES FROM THE SOVIET UNION ON MINOR ISSUES IN  
WAYS THAT SUGGEST THAT THEY CONTINUE TO SEE THE CSCE AS A  
MEANS OF PRESERVING A SOMEWHAT INDEPENDENT LINE IN  
CONTACTS WITH THE WEST". THESE PERMREPS BELIEVE THAT  
EVEN THIS HIGHLY QUALIFIED OBSERVATION SUGGESTED A GREATER  
DEGREE OF DIFFERENTIATION AND INDEPENDENCE THAN MOST

EASTERN EUROPEANS EVIDENCED AT BELGRADE. THEY AGREED WITH THE OBSERVATIONS IN PARA 8 THAT "ROMANIA HAS MAINTAINED ITS SPECIAL APPROACH" AND THAT "THE CLOSE COORDINATION AMONG THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES SEEMS BASICALLY UNCHANGED FROM THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS".

2. LEGACOS (GREECE) AGREED WITH THE OBSERVATION IN PARA 7 OF THE REPORT ON BELGRADE THAT "THE THRESHOLD OF TOLERANCE OF EASTERN COUNTRIES WAS NOT SURPASSED, THOUGH IT ISN'T CLEAR HOW NEAR IT WAS APPROACHED" AND THAT "SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO BEAR WESTERN CRITICISM, ESPECIALLY IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS FIELD, CONFIRMS THAT THE USSR CONTINUES TO HAVE A STRONG STAKE IN THE DETENTE PROCESS OF WHICH THE CSCE FORMS AN ESSENTIAL PART." RECALLING THAT THE DESIRABILITY OF NOT CROSSING THE SOVIET "THRESHOLD OF TOLERANCE" WAS AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN PRESENTATION OF A NUMBER OF ALLIES IN NATO CONSULTATIONS PRIOR TO THE BELGRADE MEETING, LEGACOS SUGGESTED THAT THE BELGRADE EXPERIENCE POINTED UP THE NEED FOR FURTHER REFLECTION ON THIS QUESTION. COMMENT: THE SAME POINT CAME UP EARLIER DURING PREPARATION OF THE REPORT IN POLADS, WHERE SOME REPS SPECULATED ON THE DEGREE TO WHICH A "SOVIET THRESHOLD OF TOLERANCE" AT BELGRADE MAY HAVE BEEN A CONCEPT THOUGHT UP BY THE WEST; HOWEVER, SINCE THE "THRESHOLD" APPEARED NOT TO HAVE BEEN REACHED, THERE COULD BE NO FINAL ANSWER TO SPECULATION ON THIS POINT. WE WOULD SEE VALUE ON POST-CONFIDENTIAL

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BELGRADE ANALYSIS AND CONSULTATION ON THE QUESTION. END COMMENT.

2. PAULS (FRG) NOTED THAT BONN SUPPORTED THE CANDIDACY OF SPAIN TO HOST THE NEXT CSCE REVIEW MEETING. BONN BELIEVED IT IMPORTANT THAT THE WEST TRY TO ESTABLISH THAT SUCH MEETINGS COULD TAKE PLACE NOT ONLY IN NON-ALIGNED/NEUTRAL COUNTRIES, BUT ALSO IN WARSAW PACT AND NATO COUNTRIES. TINE (FRANCE) SAID PARIS ALSO SUPPORTED MADRID'S CANDIDACY AND BELIEVED THAT A MONOPOLY FOR HOSTING CSCE MEETINGS SHOULD NOT BE LEFT TO THE NON-ALIGNED. PARIS ALSO BELIEVED THAT MADRID'S HOSTING THE MEETING WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO BRINGING SPAIN INTO ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS . BENNETT UNQTE VANCE

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## Message Attributes

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**Review Markings:**  
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